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HOPI SHRINES NEAR THE EAST  
MESA, ARIZONA

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BY

J. WALTER FEWKES, 1450-1930

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# HOPI SHRINES NEAR THE EAST MESA, ARIZONA

By J. WALTER FEWKES

## INTRODUCTION

The more we know of the sociological evolution of the Pueblos, the more evident it is that the increase of population and attendant modifications in culture are due only partially to internal growth or the enlargement of existing families. Additions of new clans are most vital factors in producing these changes, always tending to modify more or less the culture of the population with which they have become incorporated. Survivals of these additions may be detected in cults, language, and arts of the component people. In order rightly to estimate the modifications resulting from successive incorporations of other clans with a people, it is important to recognize distinctive culture features belonging to the several component clans. This can be done by determining the sites of their former habitations and investigating the archeological evidences of culture contained in them.<sup>1</sup>

The main but not the only source of our knowledge of the migrations and successive halts of Hopi clans is tradition, which indicates the pueblos (now ruins) that have been occupied by them. Culture objects from these ruins may verify or disprove tradition. Each clan added to a Hopi pueblo, being in itself a unit, has its own history, that may be regarded as independent of other chronicles of the kind up to the time of its fusion into general Hopi history.

Some of the characteristics of clan culture history survive among the Hopi to the present day. The first step in an investigation of Pueblo culture evolution is, then, definitely to associate ruins with clans. This may be done by several methods, one of the most reliable of which is by traditions.

I have already shown how certain Hopi clans claim ownership in eagles' nests near distant ruins and how this claim may be used

<sup>1</sup> Most of the data here recorded were gathered between 1890 and 1894, while the author was connected with the Hemenway Expedition.

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in support of traditions. There is a similar proprietorship in shrines and springs<sup>1</sup> near ruins, and the identification of their present owners may aid us in determining what clans were once inhabitants of the pueblos of which these ruins are the remains.

In order to indicate the importance of shrines and springs in a study of Pueblo sociology, let us take for an example the clans that survived the fall of Awatobi. When this pueblo was destroyed at the close of the seventeenth century, it was inhabited by at least four peoples — the Awata (Bow), Honani (Badger), Buli (Butterfly), and Piba (Tobacco). It would appear that the population was composite and that the three peoples first named formed the nucleus of a population which was joined later by the last mentioned (Tobacco), that formerly lived south of Walpi on the banks of the Little Colorado. The Bow, Badger, and Butterfly came from the Rio Grande valley and were probably of either Keresan or Tanoan origin.<sup>2</sup>

In the dispersion of the survivors of Awatobi the Bow people went to the Middle mesa and the Tobacco to Walpi, while the women of the Badger and the Butterfly were appropriated by the Oraibi. Incidentally it is instructive to note that some of the Badger and the Butterfly peoples, returning to the East mesa, aided the Asa in founding Sichomovi, while the Bow people moved from their Middle mesa settlement to Walpi, where their descendants still live.

A few years ago the idols of the Alosaka at Awatobi were removed from their shrines and carried to the store of an Indian trader, the late Thomas V. Keam, to whom they were offered for sale. It was then learned that these idols were especially revered by the descendants of the Awatobi clans living at Mishongnovi, for almost the entire population of this pueblo visited Mr

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<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, n. s., 11, p. 690-707, 1900. Every clan in Walpi has a right to water from the largest springs, but individual clans claim certain springs, especially those at distant ruins, as their property.

<sup>2</sup> As most of the ruined pueblos on the Antelope mesa were of Keresan origin, it is probable that Awatobi, which belongs to the same series, was founded by the same clans. At least we may logically conclude that the nucleus of that historic pueblo came from the eastern pueblos, especially as this conclusion harmonizes with the evidences that the Hopi culture was in the first instance of eastern origin and therefore more modern than that of the Rio Grande pueblos



Keam and begged for their idols. He delivered them to the priests and they were carried back to the Middle mesa.<sup>1</sup> It was discovered also at that time that several of the Awatobi shrines and springs were still used ceremonially by certain of the Hopi clans who claimed them as their property.

These facts might be paralleled in the history of many other mounds near the East mesa. Even remote ruins like Homolobi, Kicuba, and Lenyanobi are still regarded as the property of the clans that once inhabited them, and their old shrines and springs still figure in the ceremonials of those clans.

Another instance of the verification of a clan migration by ownership and position of a sacred spring is suggested by Sisibi, near the Moki buttes. This spring lies on the trail taken by the Southern people of Walpi in their migration to that pueblo from Homolobi. It is visited annually by the chief of the Kwakwantû, a warrior priesthood of Southern clans, for sacred water used in the New Fire ceremony.

Several clans are said to have migrated separately or together from Homolobi northward to Walpi. Among these were the Cloud, Lizard, Tobacco, Rabbit, and possibly the Young Corn. The Flute, Sun, Squash, and others had preceded them in this migration. When some of the clans came to a place called Kokopelti a short time before they reached the Moki buttes, the Young Corn separated from the others and then or a little later the Tobacco and possibly the Lizard went to Awatobi. The remainder continued their journey to a pueblo called Pakatcomo, later to Tawapa, and ultimately joined the Walpians. After the destruction of Awatobi the Tobacco peoples were united with their former kindred in Walpi.

Judging from the time spent relatively in the manufacture and consecration of prayer emblems, it might well be concluded that these objects are essential features of every considerable Hopi ceremony. As it rarely happens that any rite is complete without the introduction of these objects, their correct interpretation is a key

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<sup>1</sup> These images are now kept in a cave near Mishongnovi, and are probably the same as those figured by Dr O. Solberg in his article Ueber die Bahō's der Hopi, *Archiv f. Anthropol.*, bd. IV, no. I, fig. 5.

to the meaning of the ceremony. Their form and character vary in different rites, as may be seen by consulting descriptions of different festivals. Appendages to these objects are significant, and each type has a prescribed form and pigmentation. Although varied in shape, color, and the materials of which they are made, prayer emblems fall into several types, among which may be mentioned prayer sticks,<sup>1</sup> clay images, miniature bowls, artificial eggs, meal, tobacco, and food of various kinds. It would be an important contribution to science to describe all the forms they assume, but the present article considers more especially the places where these offerings are deposited and incidentally certain other inclosures where sacred objects are kept. I have attempted to enumerate some of the better known shrines near the East mesa and have pointed out their distribution in that neighborhood, that this knowledge may serve as a guide in the determination of shrines near ruins and lead to a more complete identification of the clans that once inhabited the dwellings now represented by these ruins.

The number of shrines<sup>2</sup> near the East mesa is too large to consider exhaustively at this time, so it will be necessary to choose a few of the more significant for description. There are others, of course, including many at the other mesas that are here omitted.

In one sense any inclosure in which ceremonial objects are preserved is regarded by the Hopi as a place for prayer offerings. Thus a cave or a recess in a cliff where, for instance, the jars used in washing the reptiles in the mysterious rites of the Snake dance are kept, or the cavern where certain dilapidated effigies of plumed serpents are stored, is considered with a certain amount of reverence. The same is true of the cleft in the rock containing the Apache scalps and of the burial places of the eagles. It is not possible to draw a strict line of demarcation between cemeteries and true shrines.

Among the Hopi a shrine varies in form and construction from an inclosure in which an idol is permanently preserved to a simple

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<sup>1</sup> At my suggestion Dr Solberg has lately made a collection of Hopi prayer sticks, which he has described in a special article (*op. cit.*) in which several shrines are likewise figured.

<sup>2</sup> The word shrine is used broadly to designate a devotional place other than the ceremonial chambers, or kivas.



cleft in the side of a boulder or cliff. One of the simplest Pueblo shrines is a pile or a ring of stones so placed as to form an inclosure for the reception of offerings. Abandoned shrines near inhabited pueblos are not uncommon, new shrines being constantly made as new conditions may seem to demand them. The situation of shrines is determined by convenience and by safety of access as well as by other considerations. Predatory tribes have sometimes raided so close to the Hopi mesas that shrines could not be visited without danger. When a new shrine is made to replace an old one the latter is still regarded with reverence, and in it offerings are still placed at stated times — a custom that persists even after the idols or other sacred objects have been removed. Thus the figurines of the Alosakas<sup>1</sup> no longer occupy their ancient crypt at the ruin of Awatobi, yet their former home, the old shrine, is still treated with reverence. Talatumsi, the Walpi equivalent of the Earth goddess, called the Alosaka woman, formerly had a shrine to the north of Hano, but the site was too exposed to hostile Utes and Apaches; the idol was removed to its present home, but at the New Fire ceremony each year offerings are still placed in the old shrine.

Of the several types of Hopi shrines the most complicated and characteristic is that which contains an idol or image to which the shrine is especially dedicated. The shrine of Talatumsi is the best known of this type. A majority of the larger shrines are of the simplest construction, consisting of stones arranged in rings with a large rock on one side forming a back. Both simple and complex shrines often contain stones, concretions, and various other oddly-shaped substances.

In the theogony of the Hopi, as among other agricultural peoples whose ideas are not modified by acculturation, living beings are supposed to have sprung from a preëxisting earth, the origin of which is beyond their philosophy and therefore not considered by them. The earth in their conception always existed, and, following the analogy of growing vegetation, organisms grew out of the earth

<sup>1</sup> The Alosakas, of which there were two images at Awatobi, one representing the male, the other the female, are equivalents of the Hopi Muiñwû-taka and Muiñwû-wüqti. The former would appear to be a sky god, the latter an earth goddess. In a way both are rightly designated germ gods, clan designations of conceptions which find expression under many different names.

or were born like animals. The earth to them is not a creator but a mother, the genetrix of lesser gods and animals, and the ancestor or first of the human race. In order to carry out the analogy of conception or gestation, a mythic father, or Sky-god, the male principle of nature, was assumed and personified as an ancient Pueblo god of highest rank. This god, like the personation of the earth, has various synonyms or equivalent designations, the multiplicity of which would appear to indicate a most complicated and advanced mythology, although in reality it is quite simple. The Earth mother has also many names derived from different clans or attributes. We find the Sky-god called Heart of the Sky, Sun-god, Plumed Serpent, and by numerous other designations. No satisfactory interpretation of Pueblo mythology is possible before the synonymy of the gods shall have been worked out better than at present.

The Hopi have several shrines erected to such earth beings as Spider-woman, Tuwapoñtumsi, Muiñwû, and Masauû. Sky and Sun gods likewise have their places for prayer offerings. Many shrines are dedicated to the Rain gods, or Katcinas,<sup>1</sup> ancestors of the clans. So far as I have been able to discover, there is no special shrine of the warriors similar to that of the members of the Zuñi Priesthood of the Bow on the great mesa near their pueblo. The places of offerings to the Plumed Serpent, a Sky-god introduced from the south, are springs, not true shrines.

#### SHRINES TO SPECIAL SUPERNATURALS

*Talatumsi*. — This personage, a synonym of the Alosaka-wüqti, or the Alosaka woman<sup>2</sup> of Awatobi, has two shrines at the East

<sup>1</sup> The word *kadcina* is apparently derived from pueblos of Keresan or Tanoan stocks. A *kadcina* is sometimes called a "sitter," referring possibly to the custom of burying the dead in a sitting posture. Among the Zuñi, as with the Hopi, the *kadcinas* are ancestral gods that are supposed to live in an underworld or mythic dwelling under or associated with a lake or spring. These ancestral spirits are personated from time to time in sacred dances, when prayers are said to the personators vicariously for rain and other blessings. According to Mr H. R. Voth, the word *kacai* means "living"; possibly *kadcina* is from *kacai*, "living," and *na*, "parent."

<sup>2</sup> The Tewa equivalent of *Talatumsi* is called by them *Cenikwia*, the Horn-woman (*tala*, "dawn"; *tumsi* or *tumasi*, "elder sister" or "woman"). *Tumas Kadcina*, known at Oraibi as the man who bears the helmet with crow feathers, is apparently the elder

mesa, one of which (pl. xxvi, fig. *a*) is situated on the terrace among a pile of rocks to the left of the so-called ladder trail<sup>1</sup> from Tawapa to Walpi. The image of this being is ordinarily seated in a stone inclosure or cleft of the rocks between two bowlders, whose entrance is closed by a wall of small stones and is opened only when the shrine is visited for ceremonial purposes. Talatumsi plays an important rôle in the New Fire ceremony and her image is carried to the mesa top quadrennially when the rites elsewhere described<sup>2</sup> are performed before the shrine.

*Tuwapoñtumsi.* — The best known shrine of this Earth-woman is situated to the left of the trail leading from Walpi to Mishongnovi, just below the ruin Kisakobi, or Old Walpi. It is a simple box-shaped inclosure (pl. xxvi, fig. *b*), or rude crypt, made of slabs of rock standing on edge, open at the top and on one side. Within the inclosure are a log of petrified wood, and other objects of stone. Offerings are presented at this shrine in the New Fire ceremony in November, as elsewhere<sup>2</sup> described. At this time the whole ruin of Old Walpi is regarded as one great place for offerings, and after a procession around the mounds has been made by the two Fire societies, offerings are placed in the shrines. The Earth-woman above mentioned is sometimes called Tawakütcmana, or Sun-white Maid, and the concept is known by various other names also.

*Shrine of Salt Woman.* — Light is thrown on the situation of Hopi shrines by a study of trips made by this people to the Grand canyon to obtain salt. At that time they carried offerings to the Woman of the Hard Substance, sometimes called the Salt woman, who had a shrine in or near the canyon. So far as I can trace traditions, it would seem that the Spaniard Cardenas in 1540 followed the same trail that the Hopi still use when they visit

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sister of the Katsinas. She is associated with the child-floggers, called at Walpi the Tuñwup Katsinas, at Oraibi the Ho Katsinas. These and many other duplications of names of the same god among the Hopi are very often perplexing in a study of their mythology.

<sup>1</sup>The ladder trail is the steepest of all the routes leading from the terrace into Walpi and is almost precipitous at one point where a stone stairway replaces a former ladder. This trail passes between two conspicuous stone pinnacles before entering the small court in which the Moñkiva is situated. Its name is derived from the old ladder once used at the steep part of the ascent, but now abandoned.

<sup>2</sup>The New Fire Ceremony at Walpi, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., II, 1900.



the Havasupai Indians in Cataract canyon, or practically part of the old route used in these excursions after salt. This trail apparently crosses the Little Colorado not far from the Moenkopi trail at Tanner crossing, a few miles below Black falls. The route with Hopi names attached, as given to me by one of the Indians, will be considered in another article.

It is said that before gathering the salt which hung from the cliffs in the form of "icicles," the Hopi deposited prayer sticks, one before the image of the Salt goddess and the other before that of the God of War. It was their custom to allow themselves to be suspended over the edge of the cliffs by ropes, in order that they might break off the salt "icicles" and transfer them to their sacks.

*Great Masauû Shrine.* — One of the best known of all the shrines at the East mesa is the Great Masauû shrine, situated among the foot-hills west of the mesa, near the main trail to Walpi. This shrine, as shown in the accompanying plate (xxvii, fig. *g*), has a rock on one side but is made up largely of twigs and branches that have been thrown upon it by those passing with firewood. In the same shrine may likewise be found small clay vessels, prayer sticks, and various other offerings. These are not confined to the shrine but are found also in front of the opening, as in the case of the small bowl shown in the figure.

*Small Masauû Shrine.* — Along the top of a ridge forming the eastern border of the sand dunes near Isba, north of the peach-trees, are four piles of stones (pl. xxvi, fig. *d*) mixed with small fragments of wood. These occur at intervals alongside the old trail, now abandoned, from the valley to Hano; in former days those setting out to gather wood on returning with their loads threw on the piles offerings to the god Masauû in the belief that by so doing they avoided fatigue.

In ancient times the annual wood gathering in November, just about the time of the New Fire ceremony, was the occasion of the exhibition of an interesting custom that still survives at the East mesa. The last time I observed it was at the close of November, 1900, when the events here narrated occurred. On the 28th many men of Walpi started for the wooded mesas about six miles north of the ruin Sikyatki. Early on the morning of the 29th the town



HOPÍ SHRINES

*a*, Shrine of Talatumsi. *b*, Shrine of Tuwaponitumsi. *c*, Coyote trap. *d*, Masauti shrine.





crier, or the chief, from the top of the highest house in Walpi gave notice to the girls of the pueblo to don their finery and proceed down the trails to meet the returning wood gatherers. About the middle of the forenoon several venerable chiefs gathered at the spring Moñwiba, and later went to a knoll called Mancitcomo, where girls from the pueblos had collected in considerable numbers, all dressed in their best clothing. Among the patriarchs who gathered there were Kwatcakwa, the sun-chief, Hoñyi, the speaker-chief, Hayi, and Pautiwa, the warrior-chief. At Wala the speaker-chief laid on the trail a cotton string with feather attached and drew a line of meal on the ground as symbolic of opening the trail to the pueblo for the returning wood gatherers. The old men kindled a small fire and smoked, quietly awaiting the wood gatherers, who soon appeared and were greeted with a "thank you." As each group appeared, one or another of the maidens would run out and present her chosen youth with a small package of corn mush (*sowibi*). If he took it the maiden followed him along the trail to the mesa top. In this way the maidens showed their preferences for certain youths, generally for those to whom they were betrothed, or in some instances openly expressed their preferences for the first time. Married women take no part in this custom for obvious reasons.

After all the wood gatherers had passed, each of the old men gathered a bundle of greasewood, threw it on his back, and proceeded up the trail. As the crowd approached the town, a considerable number of people had gathered on the house tops of Hano to watch the proceedings, and amid much laughter the loaded burros, with their happy drivers followed by the bashful maids, passed through the pueblo. Formerly this custom was observed by many people, but at present the number of participants is but small. It is said that in old times a procession of this kind yearly passed the four piles of stones and twigs above described when it returned to the pueblo.

There are numerous other small shrines of this kind near the East mesa, some of which are collections of small stones thrown there by passing Indians, others stones deposited in natural crevices of boulders or cliffs. In the same category may be placed also the rock called Masowa, or Skeleton Stone, situated about halfway

between Tawapa and the elevation to the left of the eastern trail leading to Hano, upon which stands the house purchased from Polakka, a Tewa Indian, and for a long time occupied by officials of the Government.

*Plumed Serpent Cult.*<sup>1</sup>—This cult appears among the inhabitants of the East mesa pueblos in two distinct forms, that of Hano and that of Walpi. The former is the Tanoan, the latter, the Hopi variant. One came from the east, the other from the south. The Plumed Serpent cult is a form of sky or sun worship introduced into Walpi by the religious fraternities of the Cloud, the Flute, and other southern clans. Effigies of this serpent are employed in the Winter Solstice rites of these people and in the March dramatizations. It crops out likewise in the New Fire ceremony when members of the Kwakwantû, a warrior society, carry wooden slats representing plumed serpents, and their chief bears an effigy of the same monster, made of the stalk of the agave plant. The spring Tawapa, supposed to be the home of the Plumed Serpent, no doubt received its name, Sun spring, from the connection of sun and serpent worship.

In the dramatization that occurs at the East mesa every March, the Tewa and the Hopi employ effigies<sup>2</sup> of these reptiles made of cloth, skins, and gourds. Formerly these effigies when not in use were kept in caves outside the pueblos, but of late intramural receptacles have been made for them. The effigies of the Plumed Serpents of Hano were formerly kept in a small cave on the west side of the mesa near the ruin at the mound Tukinobi, but they are now concealed in four jars in the home of the Tobacco clan. The extramural crypt or "home" contains fragments of old abandoned effigies, hoops, cloth, and broken gourds, with fragments of wood and pieces of cord, and is occasionally visited by priests who sometimes make offerings at that place.

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<sup>1</sup> The Horned, or Plumed, Serpent cult, was widely distributed in Mexico, the Pueblo area, and among the ancient inhabitants of the Mississippi valley. It is a form of sun and sky worship, and is almost universally said to have been brought to Walpi from the mythic land in the south called Palatkwabi. The horn is constantly represented on the head of figures of this serpent, feathers being less constant.

<sup>2</sup> I was repeatedly warned not to touch these effigies, even when they were not in use. Women never allowed even their garments to come into contact with the effigy of the Great Snake.



HOPI SHRINES

*e*, Sun shrine. *f*, Warrior shrine at entrance to Walpi. *g*, Shrine of Wukomasauñ. *i*, Pictograph of mountain lion. *h*, Snake shrine.





*Sumaikoli Shrine.*—Several men at the East mesa belong to a sacerdotal society called the Yayas. They claim to be able to cure diseases of certain kinds and the stories they tell of their necromancy are past all belief. In treating the sick they make use of heat, ashes, or other products of fire and most of their jugglery is with firebrands, so that one would not be far astray in calling the Yaya a Fire society; hence I have spoken of their biennial festival as the Little Fire ceremony. They kindle fire with two sticks, and at the time a row of masks called the Sumaikoli and Kawikoli, a fetish of the Earth goddess, Kokyanwüqti, the Spider-woman, and other objects are arranged in the form of an altar. Perhaps the most significant and characteristic ceremonial object employed by the Yaya is a wooden framework, called by Mrs Stevenson a "charm." This is carried in the hand in the manner shown in my representations of the Sumaikoli and Kawikoli.<sup>1</sup> Two of these "charms" were obtained by Mr Stewart Culin in a collection from the Canyon de Chelly. These specimens, now in the Brooklyn Institute Museum, possibly belonged formerly to the Asa clan, who claim once to have inhabited the ruin near which these objects were found. If so, there is no doubt of the late occupancy of some of the cliff-dwellings of the Canyon de Chelly, as the Asa moved to this canyon in quite recent times.

It would appear that the Sumaikoli ceremony was brought to the Hopi by eastern Pueblo clans, and I am inclined to attribute its introduction to the Asa or to some Hano peoples supposed to be Tanoan. Mrs Stevenson has described the Sumaikoli and Kawikoli (Saiapa) as they are personated in Zuñi, where the cult is much more elaborate than at Hano or Walpi. The Sumaikoli cult seems likewise to have been added to the original culture of the Zuñi since they settled in the Zuñi valley or while their home was farther down the Little Colorado.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Lesser New Fire Ceremony, *American Anthropologist*, III, 1901; *Twenty-second Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, pl. xxxv, p. 96. Like so many other Hopi ceremonies, the Sumaikoli is of Keresan origin.

<sup>2</sup> The Sumaikoli apparently originated at Cipia, an ancient Keres habitation near Isleta or Laguna, New Mexico, from which it spread to Zuñi and to the Hopi mesas with the possible exception of Oraibi. This appears to be one of many ceremonial personages common to the Hopi and the Zuñi that were not derived one from the other but arose

Just opposite an old house in Hano, where once lived the sun-priest who was also chief of the Sumaikoli, situated on the eastern rim of the mesa, there are a few small stones forming an inclosure in which are biennially deposited the prayer sticks of the priests at the Sumaikoli ceremony. The shrine, called a sun shrine, receives other offerings also, but that made to the sun by the Yaya priests is conspicuous. This priesthood makes offerings also to the moon, to Masauû, and to the six world "quarters"—north, west, south, east, above, and below. Such offerings consist of feathered strings, some of which are tied to an emblem representing the sun.

The Sumaikoli and Kawikoli masks of Hano are kept in a dark room on the ground floor of the old sun house of that pueblo. They differ somewhat in symbolism from those of Walpi.<sup>1</sup>

*Sun Shrine on Trail to Katcinaki.*—Katcinaki, or the Katcina house, is a shallow cavern situated nearly under Sichomovi, half-way between the edge of the mesa and the surface of the terrace. This is the place where men personating the katcinas unmask and where they have their mid-day dinner. Here is a small shrine in which ceremonial deposits are placed at times. The trail leading to it from the mesa top passes over the east rim of the mesa about halfway between Walpi and Sichomovi and, after descending a few feet, bifurcates, one branch forming the main trail to Sun spring. Overlooking this trail as it leaves the mesa is a projecting spur of the mesa edge upon which is situated the Eastern Sun shrine of Walpi. This shrine, shown in the accompanying figure (pl. xxvii, fig. e), is filled with offerings at the Winter Solstice ceremony and is a receptacle for prayer sticks and feather offerings at other festivals also.

*Talaviwa.*—This shrine is situated on the extreme point of the cliff above Wala, on the trail from the Isba to Hano. Near it are the markings in the edge of the cliff through which the Tewa formerly shot their arrows at invaders, in defence of their town. On the oc-

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from a common source. Like the Zuñi Kolowissi and the Hopi Palülükon, both were derived from clans that once lived on the Little Colorado. In a somewhat similar way the concept of the Flute cultus hero in these two modern pueblos may have been independently derived from the people of some Flute pueblo now in ruins.

<sup>1</sup> See *Jour. Am. Ethnol. and Archaeol.*, II; also, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., III, 1901.



casation of my visit the shrine contained several fragments of petrified logs but no prayer sticks or other offerings.

*Moñiva*.—This shrine is situated on the mesa top, north of the main cluster of Hano houses, and not far from the remains of an old kiva adjoining broken-down walls of an ancient habitation that the Hano ascribed to the Katcina clan. Offerings are made in this shrine, especially by the Hano priests and those personating the Hano katchinas.

*Hano Sun Shrine*.—It is in this shrine that the sun priest of Hano places his sun offerings at the summer solstice, as recorded in my account of this ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

*Ancient Hano Sun Shrine*.—There is an old sun shrine of the Hano clans on the mound south of the trail that leads from the foothills to their ancient pueblo on Sikyaotcomo, or Yellow-rock mound. It is said that one of the earliest Hano settlements crowned this elevation and the adjacent remains of walls support the tradition that it was a pueblo of considerable size. The shrine on this hill is used almost exclusively by the modern Hano priests and always contains several offerings. It consists of a ring of stones a few feet in diameter, open on the east side. The character of the offerings varies from time to time. The following objects were observed just after the Winter Solstice ceremony in 1900. The most unusual form of these offerings, peculiar to Hano so far as I know, is a prayer stick in the form of an ancient ladder, which is elsewhere figured, and described as carried by the Buffalo maid in the Buffalo dance. This is a flat wooden slat serrated on each edge with each surface divided by a meridian band, one side yellow, the other green. One end is continued into a handle. The ladder prayer stick is used in the Winter Solstice ceremony in a symbolic way, being in fact an offering to the sun, which is supposed to be weary at that time and in need of assistance in climbing from his home in the under-world to the sky.

Two sun prayer sticks of Hano priesthoods were likewise seen in this shrine. These differ from the Walpi variety in having a ferrule incised in the stick representing the male, a face being painted on the stick representing the female. Both Hano and Walpi varie-

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Am. Ethnol. and Archeol.*, II, 1893.

ties are double, consisting of two sticks tied together about midway in their length. One of the most remarkable offerings in this shrine was an imitation of an eagle's egg, made of wood. It was painted white with black spots and had a wish feather attached to it. These imitation eagle eggs are "signature" prayers for the increase of eagles and occur also in other sun shrines. They are made at the Winter Solstice ceremony.

*Shrine of Ahüla.*—Ahüla appears in the great Katsina ceremony called the Powamû, or yearly celebration of the return of the katsinas, or divinized ancestors. This personage, representing the Sky god or male parent of all, visits the main clan homes of the three villages on the mesa, symbolically receiving the prayers of their residents which he answers in a similar manner.

There is a conspicuous shrine situated at the gap, Wala, near the head of the trail from Coyote spring to Hano, which contains a coiled stone, possibly a cast of a cephalopod shell. Prayer offerings are placed in this shrine in many ceremonies; here Ahül, the Sky god, dresses and dons his mask before he enters the Hopi pueblo. The coiled stone is not interpreted as representing a snake idol, as some authors have suggested, but as comparable with what the Hopi call, as translated, a "heart-twister."<sup>1</sup>

*Tohkükü.*—The shrine of the animal footprints is situated near the trail from Walla to the two mounds called Kükütcomo, "footprints mound." This shrine, a small cairn containing stone fragments and other objects, takes its name from certain depressions in the surface of the rock which the Hopi liken to wildcat tracks. Several similar markings on the rock nearby seem to indicate that the impressions especially associated with the shrine were but one specimen of many of these impressions to be found in the neighborhood. In this shrine was observed a wooden ball, which I was told had been placed there in order that the Rain gods might pour out water from the clouds in torrents which should fill all the dry water courses, causing the adobe balls in their beds to be rolled along

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<sup>1</sup> The nearest approach to it in form is the coiled stone from Awatobi now in the Berlin Museum, to which institution it was sold by the late Mr Thomas V. Keam. A coiled wooden object known as "the mother" and called also a "heart-twister" is prominent on the Walpi Mamzrauti altar. (See *American Anthropologist*, III, 1892.)

like the stone balls which were kicked by the young men in the foot races held in early spring. These races are thus a form of prayer, or a mental suggestion to the Rain gods to aid their descendants with copious rains.

*Kwapihikpu.* — This shrine, situated on the north side of a hill called Tukinobi that lies about midway between the twin mounds Kükütcomo and Wala, is, as its name signifies, an eagle shrine; it contains artificial eagle eggs, especially just after the Winter Solstice ceremony. Near the shrine are the remains of a former settlement of the Kokyan, or Spider clan of the Bear people, the earliest arrival in Tusayan and a very old settlement on the East mesa.<sup>1</sup>

#### SHRINES IN THE PLAZAS

Almost every Hopi pueblo has in the middle of its plaza a shrine that is generally one of the best made of these structures in the neighborhood. These plaza shrines are of two kinds: (1) those whose cavities are sunk below the level of the ground and always provided with a stone covering; and (2) those with lateral walls above the surface of the ground, having lateral entrances. Both types are sometimes said to represent symbolically a mythological opening from the under-world through which the races of men emerged. The plaza shrine of Walpi belongs to the former of these types, the corresponding shrines at Sichomovi and Hano to the latter.

A plaza shrine of the second type is a simple uncovered stone box made of slabs of rock set on one edge, generally with the east side open. Shrines of this kind are usually well supplied with prayer emblems of different sorts.

Sipapû is, of course, a general name for the entrance to the under-world, and is applied likewise to a symbolic representation of the same, as a hole in the floor of a ceremonial room or a depression in the plaza. The plaza shrine at Walpi is a sipapû, or crypt in the floor of the plaza, and is covered with a circular stone ordinarily

<sup>1</sup> Like many of the oldest clans of the Hopi pueblos, the Spider clan is said to have come from the east. According to some of the most reliable traditionists, the Bear people are the oldest in Walpi. The evidence drawn from picture writing found on pottery taken from their old ruins relates them to former inhabitants of Sikyatki, whose ancestors we know came from Jemez.



cemented over the orifice. This stone covering is removed at certain ceremonies when offerings are deposited in the cavity. At the New Fire ceremony broad lines of meal are drawn on the ground from it across the plaza in the direction of the shrines of Talatumsi and other supernatural beings. These are either pathways of influence from shrines to the under-world, the abode of the gods, or vice versa.

#### WORLD QUARTER SHRINES

In certain of the great Hopi festivals, as the Snake dance and the Flute ceremony, but more especially in the former, it is customary for the priests to deposit prayer sticks for rain in temporary shrines situated in the four cardinal directions<sup>1</sup> from the pueblo. These sticks are made for seven consecutive days, their length each day being less than on the preceding day. The shrines in which the offerings are placed are situated at distances also diminishing day by day from the maximum — about five miles. On the last day prayer sticks no longer than the first joint of the finger are placed on the four sides of the entrance to the room in which the offerings are manufactured. These temporary world quarter shrines and the offerings placed in them are located at constantly diminishing intervals in order to toll the Rain gods from their distant homes to the pueblo.<sup>2</sup>

*Snake Shrines.* — In the now voluminous literature of the Hopi Snake dance, little or nothing has been recorded regarding the fate of the long black prayer sticks made by the Snake priests and carried by them in the dance. At the close of the dance these objects are deposited in four shrines situated at the base of the mesa, one in each of the four world quarters, and hence called the North, West, South, and East snake shrines. It may be mentioned also that in the disposition made of the snakes after the dance a serpent is always left in each of these shrines.

The Snake shrine of the North is situated near a large bowlder, not far from a house owned by Kannu. At the time of my visit there were in this shrine several of the black prayer sticks of the priests. The Snake shrine of the West is a cleft in the pinnacle of

<sup>1</sup> Determined by solstitial sunrise and sunset, not by polar observations.

<sup>2</sup> Shrines may sometimes, as possibly in this instance, symbolically represent springs.

rock at the extreme south end of the East mesa, near the boulder on which is cut the pictograph of the winged being Kwataka, elsewhere described. The Snake shrine of the East is situated not far from the Buffalo shrine, to the right of the road as one approaches the spring called Ispa, Coyote Water. It is a simple cleft in the rock which bears one or two pictographs of serpents. The Snake shrine of the South is situated a little to the right of the steep trail to Walpi, just below the sheep corral on the terrace. Nearby are pictographs of snakes and when visited the shrine was found to contain several snake prayer sticks.

#### SHRINES WITH PICTOGRAPHS

It commonly happens that pictographs of striking character are found near shrines. None of these is more instructive than the pictograph of Kwataka, a mythic being of birdlike form. This being is regarded by the Hopi with great awe, for it is one of the most dreaded supernatural personages of the tribal Olympus and around it cluster many legends, some of which recount how it destroyed and devastated old pueblos. Some of the ruins of Arizona are directly associated with the effects of its rage. In certain respects Kwataka resembles the Zuñi Achiyälätöpa, "the knife feathered being," figures of which are so constant on certain Zuñi altars but which I have never found on a Hopi altar. Kwataka was worshipped when success in war was desired, and offerings of medicine were placed in the depression indicating the location of the heart of this supernatural being. He was regarded as the most powerful god of war. There is a very good pictograph of Kwataka in the foothills at the south end of the East mesa, on the face of a large boulder. The accompanying drawing (figure 15) shows that the Hopi conception of him was a giant birdlike being with a long straight beak and a crest of feathers. Remarkable features not partaking of the birdlike character are the two appendages rising from the back and extending forward. These are said to represent baskets in which prey is placed, but were more probably designed for basketware shields to protect the god from his foes. The depressions in the surface of the rock near the position of the heart, where the war medicine was placed, are indicated in the illus-

tration. On approaching this pictograph, one may see on the rock footprints said to have been made by Tcavaiyo, another little-known monster of Hopi mythology. From several considerations I am

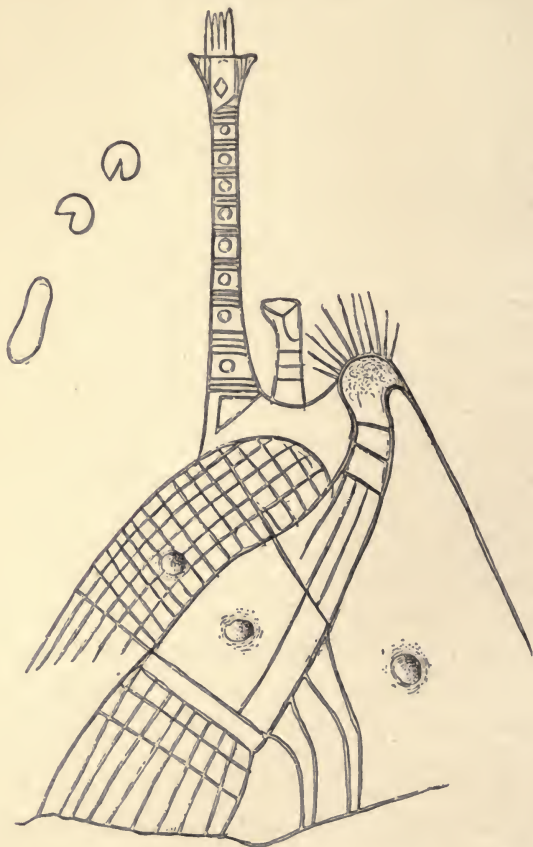


FIG. 15. — Pictograph of Kwataka.

led to regard Kwataka as an ancient Sky god, the rites of which have not yet been identified.

*The Nakopan Shrine and Pictograph.* — This shrine is situated about two miles north of the mounds of old Sikyatki and the accompanying pictograph commemorates one of the few folk tales that have come down to our time from that prehistoric village. In my paper on Hopi Katchinas will be found the story of the personages





HOPI SHRINES

*j*, Pictographs near snake shrine. *k*, Katsina shrine. *l*, Hopi grave with offerings.



concerned, with graphical representations of them, but no one has yet described the shrine. This consists of a shallow cave hollowed out of the cliff a few feet below the edge of the mesa, on the side

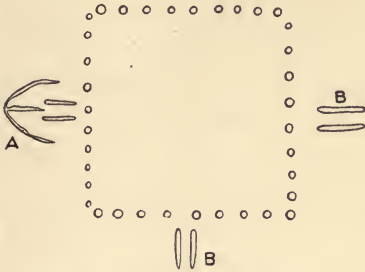


FIG. 16. — Pictograph of Nakopan.

looking toward Sikyatki; it contains two stones of unusual shape, called by the Hopi the two War gods. In front of these stones there were when I visited the place several rude clay vessels and prayer sticks. The pictograph of the Nakopan, cut on the surface of the cliff just above the shrine, consists of an incised figure of rectangular shape indicating where

the Nakopan personages were seated, the maid being a figure of the female organ as shown in the accompanying illustration.

The pictograph here dealt with (figure 16) is said to show where the children of the Sikyatki woman sat when she left them their food. It is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet square, the seat of the girl being represented by the female sign (*a*), and that of the boy by parallel lines (*b*). According to the myth, a Sikyatki mother was angry because her children begged for corn. They fled to the cave described above and the mother, who had entered into illicit relations with a man not their father, left food for them daily at this place.<sup>1</sup>

*Toho Pictograph.* — This pictograph (pl. xxvii, fig. *i*), which occurs on the face of a large boulder situated on the terrace below Sichomovi, represents in incised outlines a mountain lion several feet long. The heart is indicated by a depression in which meal or other offerings may be placed, but they are placed also near the base of the rock. This boulder is situated not far from the site of the first trader's store<sup>2</sup> at the East mesa.

<sup>1</sup> Near this pictograph two Hopi men were killed by the Navaho in comparatively recent times.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest trader was a young Mexican, Roman Vaca, called by the Hopi Lomana, who brought his stock in old wooden-wheeled wagons over a road the signs of which are still to be seen. Vaca was succeeded by Mr William Keam, whom the Hopi call "Billee" and from whom Keams canyon takes its name. Mr William Keam was succeeded as trader by his brother, the late Thomas V. Keam.



## VARIOUS OTHER SHRINES

*Mucaiaski.* — In this shrine — a cleft in the rocks to the right of the road leading from the plain to the mesa, about opposite the old Polakka house — an offering is deposited after a Buffalo dance. The place is only a few feet from the road and is somewhat hidden from the sight of passers-by. The offering is a notched stick with attached feathers; it is called the "sun ladder," a figure of which is published in an article on Hopi Minor Ceremonies, in a former volume of this journal.

The Buffalo dance was introduced into Walpi by Tanoan clans from the Rio Grande and was formerly celebrated with much fervor. The Hopi say that it was carried from Walpi to Zuñi<sup>1</sup> about 1886 and that they brought back in exchange for it the Howina, a Warrior or Harvest festival, which is occasionally celebrated on the East mesa.

*Clowns' Shrines.* — The Hopi, like the Zuñi, have an order of knob-headed personations called Koyimsi who appear in certain of their ceremonial dances. These are commonly called clowns and represent ancestral beings that once lived at a pueblo (now a ruin), Winema, not far from the junction of the Little Colorado and Zuñi rivers. Although these beings have the same name at Zuñi and Walpi, it is not necessarily true that one order was derived from the other. It is more probable that both came from a single source — one of the ruined pueblos of the Little Colorado.<sup>2</sup>

The shrine of the Koyimsi is situated near a great rock on a sandy hillock to the right of the road from Tawapa to Supela's house. It is a ring of small stones with an opening looking eastward.

There survives on the East mesa a persistent tradition that when the mission at Walpi was destroyed in 1680, the altar images, or "santos," were hidden in the sand near this shrine, but exactly where no one now knows, although all the old men agree that the burial site was not far from Sun spring.

*Hütciohi.* — As the visitor approaches Walpi from the north the mesa narrows and descends a few steps, to rise again as one enters

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<sup>1</sup> The Pleasure dance figured by Mrs Stevenson (pl. LXXXI, *Twenty-third Rep. Bur. Am. Ethnol.*) is a Buffalo dance introduced by the Hopi.

<sup>2</sup> The Koyimsi cult at Zuñi dates back to the earliest times of which the tribal traditions speak. It is old at Walpi also, where it was introduced by clans from the south.

the pueblo. This constriction of the mesa has caused the trail to narrow and the worn surface of the rock shows clearly the marks of the many footsteps that daily pass over it. On one side of the narrowed trail (pl. xxvii, fig. *f*) is a small overhanging ledge of rocks under which one can generally find prayer sticks and other offerings. This is a favorite place for the prayer offerings of the Warrior society, who perform similar devotions at Momtcita, their ceremony occurring in December. On the trail at this point is commonly placed a string to which is tied a feather; the two are called a "road" and are used as symbols indicating that a ceremony is about to begin<sup>1</sup> or is in progress in the pueblo. The trail is then said symbolically to be open, whereas when the string is laid across it, the trail is ceremonially closed.

*Atutuskia*. — This shrine is situated near Syskiamu's house, to the right of the road in foothills east of the mesa.

*Niman Kacina Shrine*. — This important shrine is situated near the southern end of the mesa on the east side just below the level of the terrace. It is inclosed by a number of flat stones set on edge, forming the sides, and covered by a thin slab of rock. This covering is removed in July at the celebration of the Niman Kacina, when offerings are placed in the shrine as has been described elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The Niman celebrates the departure of ancestral gods called kacinas, who are supposed to live in the under-world, the entrance to which is the sun house in the west. The shrine here described is symbolic of that abode.

*Kalalini*. — This shrine, which is situated on the mesa top, halfway between Hano and Sichomovi, is a simple uncovered circle of stones, without contents. Novices are said to make their offerings here at the time of the New Fire ceremony.

*Tubpaka*. — A small simple shrine to be found on the east edge of the mesa near Sichomovi.

*Hombiki*. — This shrine is situated in front of Tebewysi's house in Sichomovi. Novices of the priesthoods called Tataukyamû,

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<sup>1</sup> The speaker-chief generally places a stringed feather at this place after he has publicly announced a ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Am. Archæol. and Ethnol.*, II, 1892.

Wüwütcimtû, and Kwakwantû are said to make offerings in this shrine at the New Fire ceremony.

*Talatinka.* — This is the sun shrine of Walpi in which offerings are placed at the Winter Solstice and at other ceremonies of the Sun priests. The novices of the Kwakwantû likewise are said to make offerings here at the New Fire ceremonies. The site of these devotions is about halfway between Walpi and Sichomovi, on the east rim of the mesa, above the trail. A Navaho home formerly stood not far distant. At the Winter Solstice ceremony this shrine is generally filled with prayer sticks, some double, others curved at one end, the latter being offerings of certain societies introduced by Patki and other southern clans.

*Turvanacabi.* — This shrine, bearing the same name as the traditional pueblo<sup>1</sup> west of Oraibi, where the Badger people lived when the katchinas emerged from the under-world, is very sacred to the Walpians. It is situated in the foothills due south of the end of the mesa. In form this shrine is simple—a circle of stones with the opening facing the east, having on the west side the large rock so common in Hopi simple shrines. There is no idol or other sacred image here, but prayer offerings are rarely wanting. Offerings of the following kind were observed there just after the celebration of the Flute ceremony in the winter of 1900.

The most important of these were two prayer sticks dedicated to Cotokinuñwû, a sky supernatural, introduced into Walpi by the Flute and Patki families, who formerly lived near the Little Colorado, south of Walpi. It appears from tradition and from a study of ceremonials that the Hopi conception of Cotokinuñwû was the highest ideal of a Sky god attained by the development of their own religion; when they learned of monotheism from Christian missionaries, they immediately identified the latter's deity with their own greatest god. The offerings made as prayers to this being are occasionally called by the Hopi, when speaking to white people, "Jesus pahos."

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<sup>1</sup> The custom of naming kivas or shrines after ruins is not uncommon among the Hopi. Thus Moñkiva was formerly called Pakatcomo, from the ruin of that name marking the place where the Patki once lived. There was also at one time a kiva on the East mesa called Homolobi for a similar reason.



The best idol of Cotokinuñwû known to me is that on the altar of the Flute priesthood at Oraibi. It apparently represents a bird-snake concept, the head having a curved apical extension, reminding one of some of the Mexican pictures of Quetzalcoatl. Its wings are conventionally made and the two long legs are decorated with the zigzag lightning symbols of the Plumed Serpent. Certain of the characteristics of the same Serpent god, as rain-bringing and thunder-making, suggest the attributal name Thunder Bird or God of Thunder applied to this being, but the image is rather that of the horned than of a feathered serpent god; the cult of the latter, it will be remembered, reached a complicated development in southern and eastern Mexico.

The idol of Cotokinuñwû on one of the altars of the Flute fraternity of Oraibi gives an excellent idea of the Hopi concept of this bird-snake supernatural, and we have also good material in the paraphernalia and idols of the Patki clans from which to study his variant. In this case, as shown by the effigies of the Plumed Serpent employed in the Winter Solstice, the snake element predominates, but there is still found the survival of the bird element and the Sky god conception. The Kwakwantû, a warrior brotherhood of these clans, wear helmets with the curved horns characteristic of Cotokinuñwû<sup>1</sup> and carry in their hands wooden slats curved in the form of small plumed serpents.

The offerings of the Flute chief to Cotokinuñwû are made in the Tuwanacabi shrine and are flat double prayer sticks tied side by side, each with a face painted on one end, and pointed at the other. Each stick has a packet of meal and a feather tied about midway of its length. In addition to the offerings to the God of the Sky there were noticed in this shrine many green prayer sticks. These were about the length of the finger and were deposited by the Flute priests to bring rain. The numerous other prayer sticks of this kind that occur in this shrine are offerings of former years. Bancroft Library

There was also in the same shrine a small prayer stick made of two parts tied together. Both of the components were without facet but one was painted yellow and the other green. This was

<sup>1</sup> The Plumed Snake symbols in this idol are indicated elsewhere. The curved horn of Cotokinuñwû recalls that on some images of Quetzalcoatl.

an offering of Naka, the chief of the Katsina clan, to his ancestral gods. The shrine contained also numerous single sticks painted black, placed there by the Snake priesthood.

*Lalakon Shrine.*—When in their wanderings from the south the Patki people arrived in the valley now called the Walpi wash, they were invited to exhibit to the Walpians their magic power in causing rain and lightning. This exhibition took place near the spring Tawapa which, on that account, became sacred to them. Two societies of priests, called the Lakone sorority and the Kwakwantû fraternity, were introduced into Walpi at that time. Both of these priesthoods have shrines at or near Tawapa.

*Sowinakabu.*—The Rabbit-ear shrine is situated just below the terrace at the side of the trail from Walpi to Tawapa.

*Uñatanopi.*—This is the shrine that contains or covers the heart of the mythic Hawk (Kica), and in this connection the following story is repeated: In prehistoric times Kica (Hawk) and Tcübio (Deer) tested their powers by running a race.<sup>1</sup> Hawk was very fleet, but Deer prayed for rain, which fell in torrents and drenched Hawk's wings so that he flew with difficulty and but slowly. Hawk lost the race and Tcübio slew him, cutting out his heart and burying it in this place. As Hawk expired, he murmured that all youths who should pray at the shrine where his heart is buried should be fleet of foot. Hence foot racers often deposit their offerings at Uñatanopi.

*Talaviwa.*—This shrine is situated on the north end of the mesa, back of Hano and just above the gap. Near it are the grooves where the warriors rested their arrows when they shot at the Utes or other hostiles coming up the trail. The shrine contains a few fossil logs or fragments of silicified wood.

*Moñwa.*—This devotional spot is situated just north of the main building at Hano and, like the shrine at the gap, contains a coiled stone. When visited, many Hano prayer sticks (*o'dope*) and feathered strings (*pelatciye*) were found.

*Sheep Shrines.*—In almost every Hopi sheep corral there is a place where clay images of the animal are placed as prayers for the

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<sup>1</sup> The idea of testing the relative power of magic forces by racing is truly aboriginal.

increase of domestic animals. These images are commonly made in the Winter Solstice ceremony and in the Warrior festival that follows it. During the former celebration prayers are made to Mu-yinwû for the increase of everything the Hopi desire, and at that time wish or prayer feathers are tied to peach trees, wagons, legs of chickens, tails of horses and burros, and to every other possession of the Hopi. Like prayer offerings are placed in all the shrines and at every spring.

The sheep shrines lie on the east or sunny side of the mesa, about halfway from the terrace to the rim, and were placed at that point as a protection against coyotes and marauding Indians. Of late other corrals have been constructed on the terrace, which offers a larger space than the talus of the mesa.

#### SPRINGS AS SHRINES

In a general way every spring is supposed to be sacred and therefore a place for the deposit of prayer sticks and other offerings. Some of these springs, as Tawapa and Moñwiba, are supposed to be specially consecrated to the Great Serpent or Sun, others to some lower divinity, but every spring is a place of worship and hence a shrine. There are many springs near the East mesa, some of which still flow; others have been filled with drifting sand and, although no longer yielding water, are still places where offerings are made. It requires constant diligence to keep the springs from filling with sand, and from time to time, under direction of the village chief, the male population dig out the sand that has drifted into them.

Near distant ruins are likewise traditional springs from which water is obtained for use in certain rites or ceremonial proceedings. When water is thus obtained, prayer offerings are customarily deposited. While the majority of springs are dedicated simply to the Rain gods, a few are special homes of a Germ god, the Sun, or the Plumed Serpent, or all combined.

Some of the largest springs are believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. The Great Plumed Snake is supposed to live under the Sun spring and offerings to him are made at that place.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Springs are often regarded as homes of the gods and sometimes as entrances to the under-world, where divinized personages dwell, or as windows out of which they look.



In the Flute ceremony a prayer stick is biennially deposited with ceremony in the bed of the same spring by a man who sinks under the water for that purpose. Water from sacred springs, especially those associated with early migrations, is deemed most efficacious in medicine making. Several springs are supposed to have been miraculously formed by early chiefs, who on that account have come to be regarded as supernatural personages.

*Is̄pa*.— This spring is situated near the main trail from the plain to the gap, Wala, and lies just above the neighboring peach trees. It has a heavy flow and is capable of supplying the water for all the three villages as well as for the houses clustered about it. A large number of prayer sticks are always to be found below an overhanging roof in the rear of this spring at the edge of the water.

*Un̄pa*.— This spring, now filled with drifted sand, is on the south side of the hill called Sikyaowatcomo, the site of an early settlement of the Hano. Although now no longer used, offerings are sometimes placed in the sand above the spring, thus keeping up an old practice. Except from this custom and from traditions, no one would know that there ever was a spring at this place.

*Wipo*, which lies on the west side of the East mesa, a short distance north of Kanelba, is one of the finest springs in the Hopi country. It is a place of offering for several societies, among the most important of which is the Flute. There are terraced gardens and evidences of house walls near this spring, indicating a considerable ancient population in the neighborhood.

*Wiñpa*. — Site of a spring a few miles north of Sikyatki, near a ruin once occupied by the Katsina people. This spring, once strong, is now dry and filled with sand. Its walls are made of well-dressed stone laid in circular form. Near this spring are walls of an old pueblo of small size.

*Kwastapa*.—This is one of the springs on the west side of the East mesa at which the Flute and other fraternities deposit their offerings. Like Wipo and Kanelba, it was a halting-place in the migrations of the Flute clans and is supposed to be of mythic origin.

*Kahabipa*. — This water, labeled on our maps Comar spring, takes its name from Koma, a Hopi who is said to have once had a house near it.

*Kahabiobi.* — Little is known of this spring except that it is near the one just described, or between it and the Hopi butte.

*Sipi.* — This spring is not far from the Hopi butte (Custapoñtukwi) and is visited by the chiefs of the Kwakwantû for water used in the New Fire ceremony and the Winter Solstice ceremony. To it novices of this fraternity are sent in their initiation ceremonies. The Patki and other southern peoples stopped at this spring in their migration northward from Homolobi or the settlements along the Little Colorado.

*Cakwaskpa.* — A small spring near the Giant's Chair.

*Hutchimopa.* — A feeble spring in the plain below Walpi. There is another spring of the same name not far from Sikyatki.

*Moñwiba.* — This large spring, situated near the trail leading from the plain to Hano, on the right hand side, is dedicated to the Hano Plumed Serpent, Avaiyo. It is one of the few large walled springs with a pathway leading down to the water. Moñwiba was dug out within a few years; at the time a festival was held, the workmen personating the Snow Katcina wearing masks on which were depicted the heads of plumed serpents. In the March dramatization, exercises are performed at this spring with the effigies of the Great Serpent of Hano. Tawapa is the home of the Walpi Plumed Snake; Moñwiba, of that of the Hano.

*Amipa.* — A small spring used by farmers and others, but situated far from the pueblos and consequently available only occasionally for drinking purposes.

*Sikyatkipa.* — This is the old spring of the ancient Sikyatki, the Kokop pueblo, from which the former inhabitants of that town obtained their drinking water. At present the water is not potable but offerings are still placed on the edges of the spring by the chief of the Kokop clan.

*Tawapa.* — The great Walpi Sun spring, situated at the foot of the mesa, east of Sichomovi. When I first visited it, in 1890, there was not a single house in the neighborhood and the surroundings were in a perfectly natural condition. Lately, the day school was built near Tawapa and the name of the latter was changed. Tawapa is supposed to be the home of the Plumed Serpent, and the Lala-kontû, Kwakwantû, and Flute priesthoods use water from it in

certain ceremonies. The Patki family are said to have camped near it after they left Pakatcomo, their last pueblo before reaching Walpi, and here they performed the rites that caused the mist to come and produced the lightning that so frightened the women of Walpi. Tawapa is much revered by the Flute people also, who, like the Patki, came from the south, and here they perform biennially one of their most impressive ceremonies, in the course of which their chief sinks under the water and there deposits prayer sticks.<sup>1</sup>

*Tatacpa*. — This spring lies near the coffin-shaped butte in full sight southeast of Walpi.

*Numupa*. — This spring is situated at the entrance to Keams canyon, on the right hand side. It yields an abundant supply of water, the flow having been much augmented by the care bestowed on the spring.

*Tovovepa*. — This good spring also is situated at the entrance to Keams canyon.

*Other Springs*. — In addition to the places of prayer above mentioned, the Hopi deposit prayer objects at the following springs: Kanelba, Hokonaba, Muzriba, Pehuba, Wukokoba, Honaupa, Pisaba, Anwucba, Yoyainiba, Yapa, Kokyanba, Tubuskia, Anapulaba, Yohopa, Takaplapi, Pepsiba, and the four springs near old Awatobi called Leñoba, Tetuiba, Pisaba, and Tcūbpa. The foregoing list shows that the East mesa Hopi have many springs, and that the duty of supplying the water with prayer offerings accounts for the activity of the people in making offerings.

If we accept the broad definition of a shrine as a place of worship, naturally such rooms as kivas should not be omitted. For obvious reasons these are not included in this account.

I cannot pass by certain sacred places especially revered by particular clans, a typical example of which was called to my attention by the governor of Walpi about six months after the great smallpox epidemic in 1899. During my work at Walpi in 1900, Hani told me one evening that the inhabitants of the East mesa were much troubled because the mythic Badger had emerged from the under-world and was digging up the graves of those who had

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Am. Ethnol. and Archaeol.*, 11. It is claimed by some of the Hopi that these southern clans introduced into Walpi the custom of making prayer sticks.



died of smallpox the preceding year. Hani declared also that the stone that usually covered the shrine of Badger had been removed to allow the inmate to leave his home in the under-world.<sup>1</sup> It was then discovered that some shrines were practically symbols of the entrance to the under-world realm of the dead, and regarded in the same way as springs or kivas.

#### TRAPS MISTAKEN FOR SHRINES

Among several constructions in or near Hopi pueblos, ancient and modern, that have been mistaken for shrines, may be mentioned coyote pitfalls and rabbit traps; one of the former, from near Sikyatki, is figured in the accompanying illustration (pl. xxvi, fig. c). As here shown the construction consists of three flat stones set upright on edge, forming a box with one side and the top open. The missing side gives entrance to the trap and the upper stone is seen through the opening. When the trap is set, this upper stone is weighted, and propped up with a stick to which is attached a piece of meat or a rabbit, and the coyote in pulling out the prop causes this stone to fall on its head. Similar traps occur about ancient ruins and have sometimes been mistaken for shrines.

#### CONCLUSION

It is not intended to consider in the preceding pages all shrines and springs about the East mesa, but rather to show the importance of many of them in the study of Hopi archeology. Ownership in shrines and springs, like that in eagles' nests, is hereditary in clans among the Hopi. The right to a spring is one of the most ancient of all ownerships in realty. So sacred are these places to the Hopi that they are associated with tribal gods and clan tutelaries; consequently, proprietorship in them is not abandoned even when the clans in their migrations seek new building sites.

It is desirable that those engaged in the study of Southwestern archeology should pay particular attention to the shrines in the immediate neighborhood of ruins, and, where possible, gather all

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<sup>1</sup> Nothing would induce Hani to accompany me to this shrine, or sipapñ, of Badger. I have never seen it, but have had it described by several Hopi whose descriptions recall the katchina shrine used in the Niman.

significant information regarding their use in modern times or since the ruins were deserted. This knowledge, taken in connection with legends of migrations, will aid in an identification of clan affiliations of former inhabitants of our Southwestern ruins. Although in most instances these shrines are now little more than rings or stones, occasionally an offering is found in them that reveals the presence of reverence in some mind, and it is generally true that the one who made this offering is related in some way to former inhabitants of the neighboring pueblo.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.















